## The Ought-Ecology of Ferals: An Emerging **Dialogue in Invasion Biology and Animal Studies**

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This paper considers how the natural sciences and humanities describe and discuss the biota described as 'feral', showing that it is employed differently by the various professionals and researchers. Recognizing that metaphors can colour outcomes for sustainability and for the animals themselves, we have explored the interdisciplinary context that has created this as a pejorative term. Through the lens of history, we explore how 'feral' has changed its meaning over time in practical management and research contexts. Specifically, we explore how labeling a species or population or group as feral shapes theoretical and practical aims for scientists, humanists and managers in the present and for the future.

Key words: alien species, civilization, conservation biology, domestication, ethics, feral animal management, invasion biology, native species, threatened species

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#### Introduction

'Feral: having become wild from a state of cultivation or domestication' (Darwin 1872: 559)

Domestication has historically been described as 'that revolution whereby man ceased to be purely parasitic and, with the adoption of agriculture and stock-raising, became a creator emancipated from the whims of his environment' (Childe 1928: 2). More recently in the present, it has become a 'science'. Melinda Zeder, for example defines it in terms of 'a coevolutionary mutualism between domesticator and domesticate ... [that] is distinguished from related but ultimately different processes of management and agriculture' (Zeder 2015: 3191). Zeder identifies the key research questions for domestication science as understanding the 'range of genotypic, phenotypic, plastic, and contextual impacts that can be used as markers of evolving domesticatory relationships' (Zeder 2015: 3191). Whether it is primarily approached from the perspective of the people (as in the approach of the archaeologist, Gordon Childe, above) or from the perspective of the biological organism (as Zeder has done), it undoubtedly has changed the relationship between humans and animals and plants, over a historical period spanning six millennia (Hemmer 1990). It is a crucial tool for managing the environment. Domestication is of continuing interest today as it is the basis for most food in the globalized industrial world. It is still cited as a fundamental element of the narrative of western civilization, and is entrenched in global demographic patterns (Diamond 2002).

While domestication can be seen as the taming and controlling of nature to fulfil human need, it bears costs and responsibilities, both in a practical and philosophical sense. Domesticated plants and animals rely on humans for many aspects of their life cycle (food, breeding, planting), and often human technologies like artificial insemination, greenhouses and seedbanks have further developed their characteristics. Humans have come to manage and make part of human capital systems many elements of the most domesticated animals' lives. leading to discussions about human responsibility for animal wellbeing, as well as questions about the impact that industries based on animal domestication have on 'undomesticated nature'. The idea that some societies are more civilized (and others less) is crucially linked to the process of domestication (Robin 2017).

For example, geographer Gordon East argues that domestication is a key sign 'by which we distinguish 'civilization' from many cultures of a more primitive kind' (East 1965: 128). The level of domestication of animals dictates, to some extent, the 'ought' question: How much control *should* humans exert over other creatures?

Nowhere is this responsibility more starkly portrayed than in the proposed geological epoch of the Anthropocene, where the impact of human behaviours is evident in biophysical systems at the local, regional and global levels (Steffen et al. 2015). The Anthropocene demands an ethos that includes each of those levels, and the interactions between them. As we grapple with the idea that we have left the Holocene era, we also acknowledge that humans, perhaps particularly western humans (Haraway 2015), have changed the course of evolution for the planet as a whole. If we have left the Holocene, the geological epoch in which most dominant civilizations today emerged, we are moving beyond a 'safe operating space' for humanity (Rockström et al. 2009). It is also a different place for all other biota. From an ecological point of view, "biosphere integrity", that is the losses of biodiversity, habitat and wild country have become the most serious of the Anthropocene changes in the longer term (Steffen et al. 2015).

The dialogue about the Anthropocene is rich. Initiated by Nobel Prize winner, Paul Crutzen at a meeting of global change scientists working on atmospheric change in the International Geosphere Biosphere Program (IGBP) (Steffen 2013), it has gained traction right across the interdisciplinary environment. Artistic and NGO activist communities also recognize the Anthropocene's global changes as a key challenge. We see headlines: Welcome to the Anthropocene!, for example in The Economist, 26 May 2011. A museum exhibition in Munich uses the same English title, with a subtitle The Earth in Our Hands (Robin et al. 2014: 212; See also Kolbert 2014). There is a feeling of responsibility in the air, of the need to adjust human behaviour that might re-route planetary futures. There is also critique. Is the Anthropocene hubristic? Does it reinforce ideas of human domination of the planet (Wuerthner et al. 2014)? Here we consider the question of natural resource management: is it possible to manage nature if humans and nature are so much more interdependent than hitherto thought?

Those opposed to controlling nature in 'wild' (undomesticated) places are critical of managing Earth for the benefit of one species. But there are many who want to manage wild nature too, adopting the language of threatened species, particularly since the mid-1980s. Ecologists Michael Soulé, Edward Wilson and Thomas Lovejoy promoted the term biodiversity as much more than a 'new name for nature' (Farnham 2007: 2). Conservation Biology itself became the 'science of crisis' (Soulé 1985), the IUCN published its first Red List of Threatened Species and new NGOs like Conservation International (established 1987) set targets on the basis of biodiversity (Robin 2011). The new discipline of Invasion Biology was also emerging in this period, although its lineage has been traced back to animal ecologist, Charles Elton's BBC radio talks in the 1950s (Richardson 2011). In his popular book The Diversity of Life,

Wilson described invasions of exotic animals as 'the second greatest threat' (after habitat destruction), thus linking biological expansion of alien invaders with threats to native species (Wilson 1992; Chew 2015). The parameters for biodiversity management were established before questions of global climate change arose, though now increasingly emphasise climate-changed habitats.

The Anthropocene describes a geological epoch, but it also captures a moment in which all sorts of different people are *at once* anxious and deeply troubled by just how much human behaviour has affected other species and ecological processes. This anxiety extends to the fact that these processes and creatures are apparently out of their control, and is aggravated by uncertainty about whether they should be trying to control at all (van Dooren 2011; Robbins and Moore 2013). Nowhere is the issue of control more salient than in the question of culling feral animals to save 'threatened biodiversity': here there are new forces, new metaphors and new questions that serve to focus on controlling the once-domesticated, now out of control animals 'damaging' native vegetation and threatening rare indigenous species.

In Gordon East's historic narrative of civilization, domestication is a signal of a linear story of progress, pinpointing a moment at which Western societies civilize and shift to more sedentary life styles. East comments that whereas Palaeolithic peoples 'were ignorant of the domestication of animals', Neolithic peoples 'by the exercise of great creative effort...during the period from 6000 to 3000 BC invented new ways of life', which gave them 'a new, if incomplete, power to adapt the natural environment' (East 1965: 129). This liminal moment marking the beginning of 'civilization' also defined the 'safe operating space' arguments of Rockström et al. (2009). If domestication is a sign of progress, this fuels anxiety about a fall from grace, particularly in settler societies like Australia and New Zealand with histories of anxiety about degeneration (Griffiths 1996). If de-domestication actually turns civilization 'as we know it' backward, it rouses added levels of anxiety. This is the context for the pejorative moniker feral in these societies (Robin 2017).

Feral is as much a historical term, as a technical one. Human anxieties about feral futures (Low 1999) have deep histories. History affects the way future possibilities unfold ecologically. For instance, for Schnitzler *et al.* (2011) feral landscapes are those that were once cultivated and then left to develop spontaneously, but these 'spontaneous' ecological processes derive at least in part from prior land uses. They are not simply natural processes (Schnitzler, Aumaitre *et al.* 2011). In this sense such landscapes can never be *wild*, as succession processes will take different courses and different lengths of time compared with natural processes and never return to pristine ecosystems (Schnitzler, Aumaitre *et al.* 2011). Whether succession can return a landscape to a previous 'climax' ecosystem or takes it to a new equilibrium is a contentious question as

we are now living in a time of 'novel ecosystems' (Hobbs 2009; Hobbs et al. 2006). Similarly, 'feral animals' are (usually) those that were once domesticated, or whose ancestors were once domesticated, but when released from their interdependence with human beings, they are uncontrollable, and have no prospect of being fully wild (e.g. Shelton 2004). Marris (2014) describes the case of the wolf-dog hybrid puppies that were destroyed in Oregon, USA, by biodiversity managers because they were neither wolf nor dog.

Using the term feral often reflects frustration about a lack of control over species or ecosystems. Feral is such an evocative adjective that it is even sometimes applied to out-of-control people. For example, the students who rioted in protest about pension changes in Lyon, France in October 2010 were referred to in the media as férales (LR pers. obs.). David Harvey takes the idea one step further and speaks of 'feral capitalism' (Harvey 2011). Feral is a term widely used in popular literature, where it may have different implications then in technical scientific literature, but there is a possibility of leakage between the popular and the technical. Feral has derogatory implications even where its use in the technical literature is nuanced and subtle (Richardson et al. 2000). In scientific literature, government documents and other grey literature, feral colours the reading of species.

This paper examines closely how 'feral' is applied and employed by professionals who interact with animals in a professional research capacity, recognizing that the choice of words and metaphors can make significant differences to sustainability outcomes (Larson 2005; Larson 2011). Drawing on published work by scholars in both natural sciences and humanities, we look at the similarities and differences in their use of the word 'feral', from both historical and conceptual perspectives. Investigating the concept of ferality and its applications in a variety of research spheres enables us to explore underlying moral and ethical issues in relations between society and animals. Which creatures are considered valuable? Which are dismissed? Which animals cause anxiety – and is it fear of the animal or self-loathing? And finally which animals do people care about, and how far might this care extend to plants and other biota? By unpacking the concept of ferality in a historical context, we can see how it has become applied in practical management and theoretical contexts. Ultimately, we consider how it might be useful or not for the emerging future management options in the globally changed world of the Anthropocene. The paper seeks to explore whether labeling a species or population or group feral advances the theoretical and practical aims suggested by scientists, humanists and managers.

#### **Materials and methods**

We approached our investigation into the use of feral from both a qualitative and quantitative perspective, mirroring

the different approaches typically employed by the two research spheres in which we were interested.

To track the changing use of feral over time in the natural sciences, we searched Web of Science in February and March 2015 for the term 'feral' as a topic search. We then restricted results to the categories 'Zoology', 'Ecology', 'Environmental Sciences' and 'Biodiversity Conservation' to reflect our ecological area of interest. This returned 2485 results (or 1164 results, if based on 'titles only') for the period from 1936 (the first recorded use) until 2014, the latest available full year records. Using a 'topic search', the Web of Science only searches title data before 1990 (but expanded to titles, abstracts and keywords after this date, which makes strict compatibility difficult to do over the longer historical period spanning the 1990 change). However, the analyses we did used the full 2485 results, on the basis that there were far more results after 1986 than in the first 50 years anyway, consistent with Farnham's analysis of the use of the term 'biodiversity' (Farnham 2007: 2).

For each record, we then noted the species or category to which 'feral' referred, observing that more than one species may be referred to as feral within a record, hence total mentions do not exactly match the number of records overall, or for many years. Where 'feral' was associated with a general category (e.g. feral fish), we tried to ascribe the record to a species if that was obvious from the record's text. To determine how proportional use of the word feral for particular species has changed over time, we performed the same restricted search in Web of Science for records of the top two feral species, with and without the 'feral' label.1

One of the most important new interdisciplinary fields within the humanities that directly considers animals, is Animal Studies. When we refer to the humanities perspective throughout the paper, we are referring to this particular area of study. As many of these humanities journals are not in a single data base, and many writers in this field publish in book format, we searched six major common animal studies journals (Conservation and Society, Anthrozoos, Between the Species, Society and Animals, Humanimalia and Journal for Critical Animal Studies) separately for their use of the term 'feral', and then collated the data as we had for the science journals. Note that none of these humanities journals were included in Web of Science. We also noted the total articles from these journals in the period of interest to look at absolute use of the term 'feral'. For groundtruthing, we also briefly surveyed multi-authored books associated with key international conferences between 2012 and 2015 (Johnston and Probyn-Rapsey 2013; Burns and Paterson 2014; Human Animal Research Network Editorial Collective 2015). Broadly speaking, the chosen journals were representative of the book-length discussions among scholars in this emerging field, so we did not undertake further analysis of books.

I Exact search terms were 'cat' or 'cats' and 'feral cat' or 'feral cats', and 'pig' or 'pigs' and 'feral pig' or 'feral pigs'.

To better understand the nuances of the use of the word, we interrogated selected articles spanning the full period of interest for their detailed meaning, context and relevance. These were used to fill our discussion of the conceptual meanings embodied by the term 'feral'.

#### Results

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We found 2485 natural science records containing the word feral between 1936 and 2014 (Figure 1), while in the humanities animals studies journals we found 94 records of the word feral between 1985 and 2014 (Figure 2). As a proportion of total papers published in each canon, the use of feral in the humanities was an order of magnitude greater than that in the natural sciences (3.20  $\pm$  0.46% and 0.32  $\pm$  0.02% respectively: mean  $\pm$  standard error, averaged over the last 30 years).

For the natural sciences represented in the sample, 'feral' first appeared in 1936, however it did not accrue more than 10 mentions in a single year until 1979 (Figure 1). This is broadly in line with Timothy Farnham's analysis of the word 'biodiversity' which rose sharply after 1986, and has a correlated history (Farnham 2007; Robin 2011) Use

of the word peaked in 2010 with 152 records, although feral has been fairly steadily used since 2006 (Figure 1). For the humanities, 'feral' was first used in 1985, five years after the first journals in the field was established, with a maximum number of mentions in 2013 although in fairly constant use since the mid-2000s (Figure 2).

In the natural sciences, feral was attributed to 182 identifiable species as well as 54 more general categories (Table 1). The distribution of mentions was highly skewed. The top five species account for more than half of all mentions: Cat/ Felis catus 469, Pig/ Sus scrofa 393, Horse/ Equus caballus 228, Goat/ Capra aegagrus 145 and Pigeon/ Columbia livia 141. At the other end of the spectrum, 172 species/categories were mentioned only once or twice (Table 1).

For the humanities, feral was applied to 14 species and 16 more general categories (Table 2). The distribution of mentions was similarly skewed, with the top three species accounting for more than half: Cat/ Felis catus 20, 'animals' 18 and Pig/ Sus scrofa 11 mentions. 23 species/ categories received only a single mention (Table 2). Importantly, feral was not used by humanities scholars in any discussion about the culture of 'feral', as we are

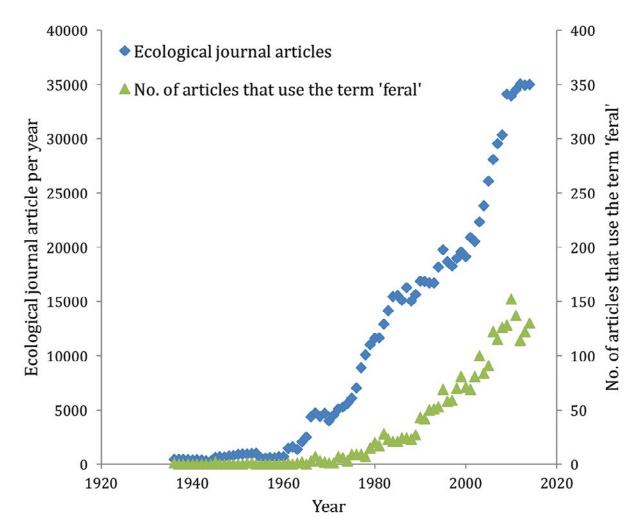


Figure 1. Total ecological articles (scale on the left) and those that use the word 'feral' (scale on the right) per year.

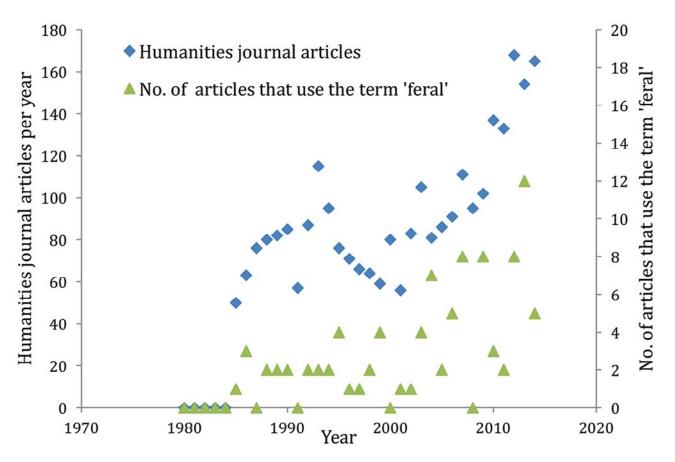


Figure 2. Total humanities articles (scale on the left) and those that use the word 'feral' (scale on the right) per year.

**Table I.** Species or other categories which have been deemed 'feral', and the frequency of mentions, in the natural sciences from 1900 until 2014.

Common name	Latin name	Category	Total mentions
Cat	Felis catus	Mammalia	469
Pig	Sus scrofa	Mammalia	393
Horse	Equus caballus	Mammalia	228
Goat	Capra aegagrus (C. hircus)	Mammalia	145
Pigeon	Columbia livia	Aves	141
Mouse	Mus musculus	Mammalia	80
'fish'		Fish	80
American mink	Mustela vison	Mammalia	68
ʻanimals'		Other	66
Dog	Canis lupus familiaris	Mammalia	61
Sheep	Ovis aries	Mammalia	49
Asian water buffalo	Bubalus bubalis	Mammalia	47
Honey bee	Apis mellifera	Insecta	44
Donkey	Equus asinus	Mammalia	36
Oilseed rape	Brassica napus	Plant	28
'predators'		Other	28
Ferret	Mustela putorius	Mammalia	25
Guppy	Poecilia reticulata	Fish	24
Cattle	Bos taurus	Mammalia	23
Dromedary camel	Camelus dromedarius	Mammalia	22
Соури	Myocastor coypus	Mammalia	15
'ungulate'		Mammalia	14

Common name	Latin name	Category	Total mentions
'population'		Other	14
European rabbit	Oryctolagus cuniculus	Mammalia	13
'Herbivores'		Other	13
'species'		Other	11
Chicken	Gallus gallus domesticus	Aves	10
'mammals'		Mammalia	8
Common carp	Cyprinus carpio	Fish	8
'GM crops'		Plant	8
'livestock'		Mammalia	7
African clawed frog	Xenopus laevis	Amphibia	7
Brown trout	Salmo trutta	Fish	7
'crop plants'		Plant	7
Sika deer	Cervus nippon	Mammalia	6
Mute swan	Cygnus olor	Aves	6
Common peafowl	Pavo cristatus	Aves	6
American bullfrog	Lithobates catesbeianus	Amphibia	6
Red fox	Vulpes vulpes	Mammalia	5
Reeves Muntjac	Muntiacus reevesi	Mammalia	5
Brown rat	Rattus norvegicus	Mammalia	5
Buff-tailed bumblebee	Bombus terrestris	Insecta	5
'Brassica'		Plant	5
Olive tree	Olea europa	Plant	5
'apes'	·	Mammalia	4
Racoon	Procyon iotor	Mammalia	4
Red-eared slider	Trachemys scripta	Testudines	4
Cane toad	Rhinella marina	Amphibia	4
Baltic salmon	Salmo salar	Fish	4
European chub	Leuciscus cephalus	Fish	4
Perch	Perca fluviatilis	Fish	4
'plants'	,	Plant	4
Brushtail possum	Trichosurus vulpecula	Mammalia	3
'carnivores'	,	Mammalia	3
'Deer'		Mammalia	3
Leaping mullet	Liza saliens	Fish	3
Mullet	Liza aurata	Fish	3
Rainbow trout	Oncorhynchus mykiss	Fish	3
Winter flounder	Pseudopleuronectes americanus	Fish	3
Pacific oyster	Crassostrea gigas	Mollusc	3
Soft-shelled clam	Mya arenaria	Mollusc	3
Sunflower	rriya arenana	Plant	3
Sugar beet	Beta vulgaris	Plant	3
Wild cabbage	Brassica oleracea	Plant	3
African green monkey	Cercopithecus aethiops	Mammalia	2
Banteng	Bos javanicus	Mammalia	2
Black rat	Rattus rattus	Mammalia	2
		Mammalia	2
Bennetts wallaby	Macropus rufogriseus Saimiri sciureus	Mammalia	
Common squirrel monkey	Suirriiri Sciureus	i idiiiiidiid	2

Common name	Latin name	Category	Total mentions
Cotton rat	Sigmodon hispidus	Mammalia	2
'domestic animals'		Mammalia	2
Orangutan	Pongo pygmaeus	Mammalia	2
Rat sp.	Rattus sp.	Mammalia	2
Reindeer	Rangifer tarandus	Mammalia	2
Small asian mongoose	Herpestes javanicus	Mammalia	2
Tammar wallaby	Macropus eugenii	Mammalia	2
Yellow baboon	Papio cynocephalus	Mammalia	2
Canada goose	Branta canadensis	Aves	2
Mallard / domestic duck	Anas platyrhynchos	Aves	2
Green iguana	Iguana iguana	Reptile	2
Rana ribicunda	Rana ribicunda	Amphibia	2
Benthic amphipod	Diporeia sp.	Crustaceae	2
Red-Claw crayfish	Cherax quadricarinatus	Crustaceae	2
Shore crab	Carcinus maenas	Crustaceae	2
Asian honeybee	Apis cerana	Insecta	2
Beet armyworm	Spodoptera exigua	Insecta	2
Cockroach	Blattaria sp.	Insecta	2
European Corn-borer	Ostrinia nubilalis	Insecta	2
Gypsy moth	Lymantria dispar dispar	Insecta	2
House fly	Musca domestica	Insecta	2
Mosquito	Aedes aegypti	Insecta	2
Rootworm beetle	Diabrotica sp.	Insecta	2
African sharptooth catfish	Clarias gariepinus	Fish	2
European hake	Merluccius merluccius	Fish	2
Fine-spotted flounder	Pleuronichthys cornutus	Fish	2
Goldfish	Carassius auratus	Fish	2
Hornyhead turbot	Pleuronichthys verticalis	Fish	2
Lake trout	Salvelinus namaycush	Fish	2
Mozambique tilapia	Oreochromis mossambicus	Fish	2
Nile tilapia	Oreochromis niloticus	Fish	2
Roach	Rutilus rutilus	Fish	2
Alfalfa	Medicago sativa	Plant	2
Apple tree	Malus domestica	Plant	2
Rice	Oryza sativa	Plant	2
Creeping bentgrass	Agrostis stolonifera	Plant	2
'grazing'		Other	2
'conditions'		Other	2
A monkey		Mammalia	1
Asian macaque		Mammalia	1
'canids'		Mammalia	1
Common vole	Microtus arvalis	Mammalia	I
Coatimundi	Nasua nasua	Mammalia	1
Crab-eating macaque	Macaca fascicularis	Mammalia	I
European beaver	Castor fiber	Mammalia	I
European otter	Lutra lutra	Mammalia	I
fallow deer	Dama dama	Mammalia	1
Fulvous harvest mouse	Reithrodontomys fulvescens	Mammalia	I

Common name	Latin name	Category	Total mentions
Grey-tailed vole	Microtus canicaudus	Mammalia	
Guinea pig	Cavia porcellus	Mammalia	1
Koala	Phascolarctos cinereus	Mammalia	1
Langur monkey	Semnopithecus entellus	Mammalia	I
Lion-tailed macaque	Macaca silenus	Mammalia	I
Macaque	Macaca spp.	Mammalia	1
Malayan Wood-rat	Rattus tiomanicus	Mammalia	1
'mammalian herbivores'		Mammalia	1
Muskrat	Ondatra zibetica	Mammalia	1
Old-field mice	Peromyscus polionotus	Mammalia	1
Olive baboon	Papio anubis	Mammalia	1
Owl monkey	Aotus sp.	Mammalia	1
Polar bear	Ursus maritimus	Mammalia	1
Rhesus Macaque	Macaca mulatta	Mammalia	1
'Rodent'		Mammalia	1
Sooty Mangabay	Cercocebus atys	Mammalia	1
Squirrel	Funambulus pennantii	Mammalia	1
Tamarin	Saguinus sp.	Mammalia	1
Tufted capuchin	Cebus apella	Mammalia	1
Vervet monkey	Chlorocebus pygerythrus	Mammalia	1
Yellow-necked mouse	Apodemus flavicollis	Mammalia	1
'birds'		Aves	I
Black vulture	Coragyps atratus	Aves	I
Egyptian goose	Alopochen aegyptiaca	Aves	1
Emu	Dromaius novaehollandiae	Aves	1
Guinea fowl	Numida meleagris	Aves	1
Monk parakeet	Myiopsitta monachus	Aves	I
Rose-ringed parakeet	Psittacula krameri	Aves	I
Ruddy duck	Oxyura jamaicensis	Aves	1
Sacred ibis	Threskiornis aethiopicus	Aves	I
'Reptiles'	·	Reptile	I
A turtle	Trachemys scripta	Testudines	1
Common tree frog	Polypedates leucomystax	Amphibia	1
Shrimp	Caridina nilotica	Crustaceae	1
Common octopus	Octopus vulgaris	Octopoda	
An asian honeybee	Apis dorsata	Insecta	ı
An asian honeybee	Apis florea	Insecta	i
A beetle	Agriotes lineatus	Insecta	·
A beetle	Agriotes proximus	Insecta	·
A parasitoid wasp	Ascogaster quadridentata	Insecta	· I
Brown locust	Locusta pardalina	Insecta	·
Codling moth	Cydia pomonella	Insecta	I
Corn earworm	Helicoverpa zea	Insecta	·
Emerald Ash Borer	Agrilus planipennis	Insecta	i I
Italian locust	Calliptamus italicus	Insecta	l I
Lesser date moth	Batrachedra amydraula	Insecta	I I
'Leaf roller'	badachedia amyaradia	Insecta	I I
Meadow grasshopper	Chorthippus parallelus	Insecta	I .

Common name	Latin name	Category	Total mentions
Moroccan locust	Dociostaurus maroccanus	Insecta	
Smoky tetanolita moth	Tetanolita mynesalis	Insecta	1
Sweet potato weevil	Cylas formicarius	Insecta	1
Vine mealybug	Planococcus ficus	Insecta	1
American plaice	Hippoglossoides platessoides	Fish	1
Arctic charr	Salvelinus alpinus	Fish	1
Bigmouth sole	Hippoglossina stomata	Fish	1
Blackspot seabream	Pagellus bogaraveo	Fish	1
Capelin	Mallotus villosus	Fish	1
Chinook salmon	Oncorhynchus tshawytscha	Fish	1
Common two-banded seabream	Diplodus vulgaris	Fish	1
Eelpout	Zoarces viviparus	Fish	1
Elizabeth river killifish	Fundulus beteroclitus	Fish	1
English sole	Pleuronectes vetulus	Fish	I
European Sea Bass	Dicentrarchus labrax	Fish	I
Flounder	Platichthys flesus	Fish	1
Gizzard shad	Dorosoma cepedianum	Fish	1
Herring	Clupea harengus	Fish	1
Largemouth bass	Micropterus salmoides	Fish	1
Mosquitofish	Gambusia holbrooki	Fish	1
Mottled sculpin	Cottus bairdii	Fish	1
Red drum	Sciaenops ocellatus	Fish	1
Red mullet	Mullus barbatus	Fish	1
Red scorpionfish	Scorpaena scrofa	Fish	1
Sand lance	Ammodytes sp.	Fish	1
Sand smelt	Atherina presbyter	Fish	1
Senegal sole	Solea senegalensis	Fish	1
Sharp-toothed catfish	Clarias gariepinus	Fish	1
Spottail shiner	Notropis hudsonius	Fish	1
Tub gurnard	Trigla lucerna	Fish	I
Walleye	Sander vitreus	Fish	I
White sucker	Catostomus commersomi	Fish	1
Yellowtail flounder	Pleuronectes ferruginea	Fish	I
A mussel	Elliptio complanata	Mollusca	1
Asian clam	Potamocorbula amurensis	Mollusca	1
'bivalve shellfish'		Mollusca	I
Freshwater mussel	Elliptio complanata	Mollusca	1
Great pond snail	Lymnaea stagnalis	Mollusca	1
Land snail	Discus rotundatus	Mollusca	1
Land snail	Oxychilus draparnaudi	Mollusca	1
'marine bivalves'	,	Mollusca	1
	Corbicula	Mollusca	· I
European eel	Anguilla anguilla	Anguilliformes	· I
Vericonellid slugs	Vericonellidae	Platyhelminthidae	I
Hammerhead slug / land flatworm	Bipalum kewense	Platyhelminthidae	i
'forests'		Plant	I
Rye	Secale cereale	Plant	· I

Common name	Latin name	Category	Total mentions
'aquatic macrophytes'		Other	
'aquatic organisms'		Other	
'benthic invertebrates'		Other	
'habit'		Other	1
'farmed organisms'		Other	1
'Invertebrate Biological Control Agents'		Other	1
'fire'		Other	
'landscape'		Other	1
'microalgal populations'		Other	1
'organism'		Other	1
'pets'		Other	1
'pollution'		Other	1
'prey'		Other	1
'stands'		Other	
'teleosts'		Other	1

**Table 2.** Species or other categories which have been deemed 'feral', and the frequency of mentions, in the humanities from 1980 until 2014.

Common name	Latin name	Category	Total mentions
Cat	Felis catus	Mammalia	20
'animals'		Other	18
Pig	Sus scrofa	Mammalia	11
Dog	Canis lupus familiaris	Mammalia	7
'children'		Other	4
'species'		Other	4
Cattle	Bos taurus	Mammalia	3
Goat	Capra aegagrus	Mammalia	2
Sheep	Ovis aries	Mammalia	2
'agent'		Other	2
'population'		Other	2
Asian water buffalo	Bubalus bubalis	Mammalia	1
Banteng	Bos javanicus	Mammalia	1
Donkey	Equus asinus	Mammalia	1
Human	Homo sapiens	Mammalia	1
Horse	Equus caballus	Mammalia	1
Mouse	Mus musculus	Mammalia	1
Reindeer	Rangifer tarandus	Mammalia	1
Pigeon	Columbia livia	Aves	I
'butterfly'		Insecta	I
'counterparts'		Other	I
'gone'		Other	I
'look'		Other	I
'pest'		Other	I
'state'		Other	Ι
'world'		Other	1

doing here. It was used, as in the natural sciences to label particular species, groups or behaviours.

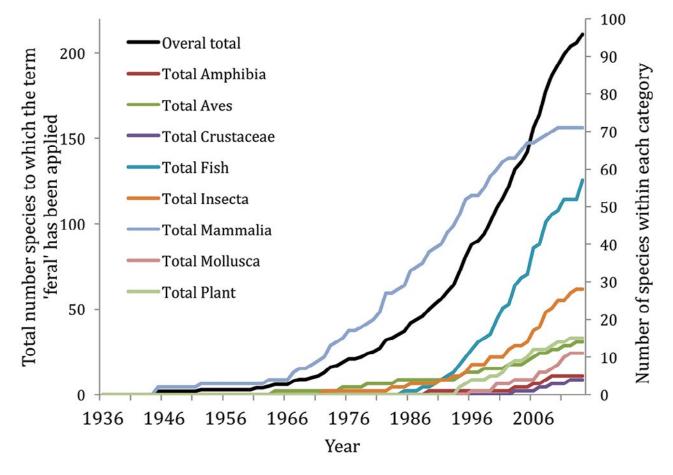
Within the natural sciences, 236 species or categories were considered feral, with both the total number of species and accumulation rates varying markedly between taxonomic groups (Figure 1). In 1945, mammals became the first group to have been referred to as feral. Over the entire time period, 64 identifiable mammal species have been considered feral however there have been no new feral mammal species since 2009. Fish are the next most common category with 57 species considered feral before 2014. Their rise has been more recent, with the first fish considered feral only in 1985 (Figure 3). In our selection of animal studies papers, all identifiable species were mammals (13 species), except for one bird (pigeon) and one insect (butterfly).

For the two most mentioned species in the natural sciences, the cat and pig, graphs of the relative frequency of being called feral showed similar results (Figures 4 and 5 respectively). For both species, the total number of mentioned has increased from the mid-1960s until the present time, with a few fluctuations along the way. For cats, the percentage of mentions which include 'feral' has developed in a step-wise fashion in proportion to the total cat research output – there appears to have been an initial

burst of feral cat research in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and then another major burst in the late 1990s. Apart from these periods, feral cat mentions have proportionally kept pace with total cat mentions. This is similar for pigs. They have a smaller overall percentage, but also a proportional increase of 'feral' pig mentions in the early 1980s and a smaller, second increase in the mid-2000s.

#### **Discussion**

The first reference to feral in either canon, was in 1936, when albino and spotted rats (*Rattus norvegicus*) were recorded living under 'feral conditions' (Svihla 1936). More specifically, these were pets that had escaped and subsequently adapted themselves to the natural conditions found on Lanai, an island south of Hawai'i. In the same paper, the author also commented on the 'feral domestic cats' of the island, although no more details were given about their situation (Svihla 1936). In both cases, the individuals were feral because they were domestic species living under natural conditions, but not from the local nature, echoing the idea of feral being considered as not legitimately part of the natural ecosystems which they inhabit (Bhattacharyya et al. 2011). In fact, all of the top five species/groups that



**Figure 3.** The cumulative number of species in each higher-level category to be considered feral, take from records of the Web of Science from 1900 until 2014. Taxonomic groups with only two mentions (Platyhelminths, Testudines and Reptiles) have been excluded from this graph for clarity.

were regularly labeled 'feral', cats, pigs, horses, goats and pigeons were formerly domesticated and later wild. This applied to the majority of species in all journals surveyed.

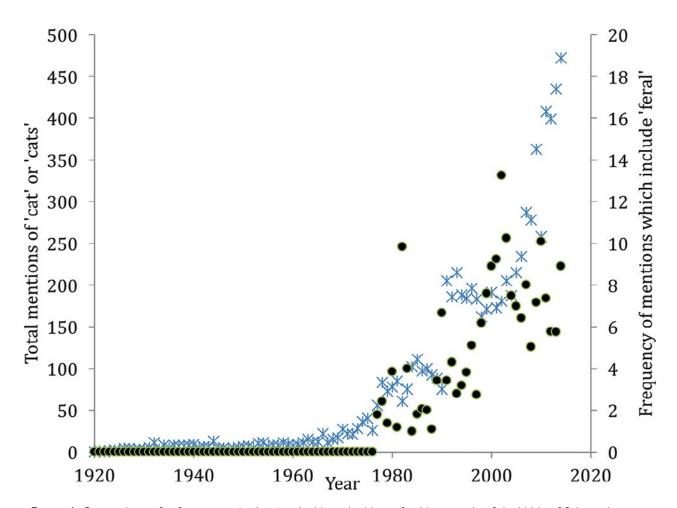
The natural sciences tended to concentrate on species that have the greatest perceived impact on the 'natural' environment, reflecting a deep care for all that is 'native' or naturally 'wild' and a desire to protect this wild nature. Cats are perhaps the most commonly blamed feral animal, as they have been devastating predators and have been implicated in the decline and extinction of many animal species worldwide (Medina et al. 2011). Pigs are responsible for causing population declines in at least 268 species (Gurevitch and Padilla 2004), but in addition to being predators, their impact also comes from damaging vegetation and watercourses. Horses and goats cause habitat damage, rather than directly eating small mammals. This explains something of the popularity of these groups to natural science studies. The prominence of the pigeon is interesting: it does not fit into the same story as its impact is not in the 'wild', but in the most human of environments. Pigeons are discussed with other birds below.

Some species appear particularly high in the table due to a well-studied single population, or small number of

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small populations. Although this would not significantly change the order of the most mentioned species, for species with fewer mentions it can have a large effect. For example, many of the feral guppy records come from studies of a single population in Japan, while many of the feral sheep records are from well-studied populations on Santa Cruz Island, California and Soay, the Scottish island. The sheep studies raise complex issues about the interests of pastoralism versus 'nature conservation', de-domestication and re-domestication (Woods forthcoming). Most of the Santa Cruz sheep were culled to protect nature, and now the small herd is conserved ('domesticated') for its genetic diversity. It is striking that 'feral' in this case is not pejorative, merely the opposite of 'domesticated' or simply 'neglected by humans'. This way of using 'feral' dates back to the nineteenth century:

'Domesticated individuals are continually escaping from man's control, and founding races of their own, which thus are trying back again when left to their mutual selection, as it were, to re-found the old primal stock from which they were in remote ages derived. These new races are called feral, to distinguish them from the original wild stock' (Gilbin 1867: 60)



**Figure 4.** Comparison of references to 'cat' or 'cats' with and without feral in records of the Web of Science between 1920 and 2014. Blue crosses – total mentions, black dots – percentage of mentions.

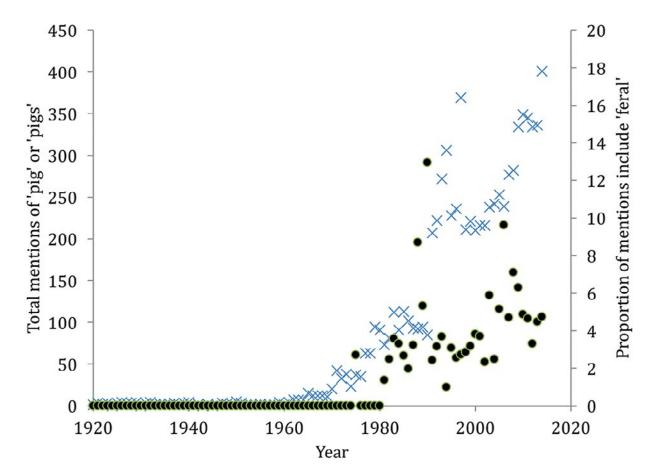
#### Species coverage

As expected, mammals dominated both literatures because of humans' long inter-relationship with them, and the worldwide distribution of the common domesticated species. Perhaps the fact that Invasion Biology is led by zoologists (following Elton) rather than botanists, is also relevant (Richardson 2011). The long history of domestication has created opportunities for 'de-domestication', particularly where animals are deliberately moved to create new settler societies (Griffiths and Robin 1997). The range of mammal species (both large and small, carnivores and herbivores) and the huge effects they can have on ecosystems (e.g. McNaughton et al. 1988; Medina et al. 2011) has led to a huge number of studies in the natural sciences. Similarly, our very close relationship with at least a few mammals (especially dogs) (Hart 1995) is reflected in the high number of mentions of these species in the humanities, perhaps because studies explore human intimacy and emotional relations with animals (often in urban settings), rather than economic or biodiversity concerns in broad-scale landscapes.

While the number of mammals described as feral seems to have plateaued, this does not appear to be the case for any other species group (Figure 3). Is the original mammalian 'feral' now working for other biota? Some changing perceptions of 'feral' are reflected in our data.

The rapid increase in the number of species to which feral applies has shown no signs of slowing down in the last few years (Figure 3), and new feral populations of many species become apparent as global trade networks and surveillance increases. On the other hand, the natural history literature maintains steady interest in feral cats and pigs, perhaps the archetype 'ferals' that provide the basis for extending the term to other species out of control? These reflect an attitude that has been so constant (Figures 4 & 5) that there is perceived political safety in Threatened Species Management leading with culling feral cats, as announced by the Australian Government on 16 July 2015 (DotE 2015). A plan that focused, for example, on culling kangaroos or horses, both of which have been deemed 'feral' by some nature conservation groups (Blucher and Brown 2014; ABC 2015) would have been much more politically controversial. The term 'feral' for a native species is used by Olsen (1998) for native animals 'that have been moved to new habitats'. In this case the human agency is indirect: the animals have moved from drought stricken pastoral country to urban areas where there is water, and they are only 'alien' in the sense they are in the wrong bioregion, not the wrong country (see Chew and Hamilton 2011).

The labeling of birds as 'feral' reveals the complexity of issues associated with the term. Feral birds are dominated by the pigeon, a species that Darwin considered feral



**Figure 5.** Comparison of references to 'pig' or 'pigs' with and without feral in records of the Web of Science between 1920 and 2014. Blue crosses – total mentions, black dots – percentage of mentions.

(Darwin 1872), and with a worldwide distribution matching those of human-dense areas. While they have been de-domesticated, we believe that the interest in pigeons is higher than other birds because of their potential to carry diseases that affect both humans and livestock (Haag-Wackernagel and Moch 2004) and because they damage the aesthetics of urban areas. Pigeons are clearly de-domesticated, and hence are legitimately considered feral in that sense. But then there are lots of pet species and other introductions that have established 'feral' populations (for a thorough review see Long 1981), but few are called feral why is this so? Does human perception require more than just presence - does it require agency too? So perhaps pigeons are feral, not because they have been de-domesticated, but because they behave in a certain way, soiling the human environment and disturbing the human-controlled order, inhibiting domestication in urban environments? The fact that pigeons are mentioned 10 times more frequently than any other bird species is only partly explained by the fact that this bird is common and easy to identify, where others are not. Importantly, 'feral' pigeons have been used to study a wide range of diseases that affect humans (Haag-Wackernagel and Moch 2004), however other species with escaped populations which also carry humanthreatening disease (e.g. parrots/ psittacosis) are not considered feral. So it appears that risk to human health is not a sufficient reason in itself to label something feral.

#### Agricultural vs Biodiversity contexts

The term feral is not the only negative adjective that has been applied to creatures by those working with them, practically or philosophically. For most of the 20th century, nuisance animals were referred to as 'pests' and 'vermin', and were deemed nuisances because they damaged agriculture or introduced human disease, not because they interfered with biodiversity. The state of Victoria in Australia, had a Vermin and Noxious Weeds Destruction Board from 1958-1984, when it was replaced by a Land Protection Agency (PROV undated). The 'noxious' focused on agricultural weeds, rather than plants rampantly out of control, and 'land protection' continued this tradition. Pest species themselves were not labeled without a clear awareness of what or who was troubled. Vermin was most often used in the context of cities and built environments. The original vermin was the rat that carried bubonic plague, and the defense against rats on ships was the cat. In this sense the cat is the classic 'feral' introduced to help humanity, and then becoming all too successful, and changing the world in its wake (Elton 1958). 'Ecological imperialism' was a major partner in the spread of European 'civilization' to the New World and other settler societies (Crosby 1986; Griffiths and Robin 1997).

The idea of 'invasive' species came to prominence in the 1980s alongside the new term 'biodiversity' (Farnham 2007) with the rise of invasion biology and conservation

biology as crisis science (Soulé 1985). Theodoropoulos (2003) responds to this debate by arguing that invasion by ferals is a symptom of a disturbed ecosystem, not a cause, and this view and others like it may account for the levelling of mentions of 'feral' after about 2006. 'Invasion biology' reflected a particular care for wild nature, and it created a new pejorative niche for the word 'feral', although the concept had been around since the *Origin of Species*. Darwin referred to pigeons and cattle, and even horses and dogs as 'feral' (Darwin 1859: 87). It was clearly a new term then, as Darwin included a definition of feral in his glossary to subsequent editions (see epigraph to this paper, Darwin 1872).

#### The rise of feral plants

In his definition of feral, Darwin (1872) applied the term equally to both plants and animals – 'cultivation or domestication' is unequivocally inclusive of both groups. On the contrary, our data show that plants were not described as feral until 1994 (Table 1). These findings are supported by a review of the terminology of plant invasions up until 1993 which did not include the word/concept feral (Pyšek 1995). Contexts of ferality have varied over time, but it is now more in vogue than ever before. The question remains about why 'feral' disappeared from the plant lexicon, only to reappear again more recently.

While Darwin used 'feral' and 'domesticated' as opposites, and the latter has been in continuous use since (for example by the Global Crop Diversity Trust 2015), feral appears to have been lost and rediscovered. The new term feral seems to apply to plants associated with human manipulations beyond domestication, for example with genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and food crops. It is about active human intervention, not just selection for characteristics. Oilseed rape or canola Brassica napus was first approved for commercial cultivation in Canada in 1995 (Bauer-Panskus and Then 2013), the year after the first application of feral to plants, and same year that the species was first described as 'feral' (Table 1). This species has been described in 28 different articles as feral, and there are a further 8 mentions of 'genetically modified crops' supporting this idea. Plants are understood differently in agricultural and biodiversity contexts. Lesley Head and colleagues argue that plants like wheat have become so much agricultural commodities that we have forgotten their 'plantiness'; extensive fields of wheat have even been omitted from standard vegetation maps of Australia (Head et al. 2012).

#### Popular and technical feralities

From the perspective of settler societies like Australia and New Zealand, where, as farmer-historian Eric Rolls (1969) expressed it, 'They All Ran Wild', we were struck by how few scientific studies described rabbits, camels or possums as 'feral'. Oilseed rape, guppies and honeybees were all more highly mentioned as 'feral' than rabbits, even though these are classic ferals in the sense that

they are formerly domesticated mammals gone wild and breeding up in large numbers, and having a high nuisance value. A search of the same set of journal for 'rabbits' without the 'feral' label revealed 6700 results. Only 13 of these were 'feral rabbits'. Perhaps this reflects the shift towards virological solutions to the rabbit problem (myxomatosis, Rabbit Haemorrhagic Disease) and the shift by CSIRO away from 'Wildlife Survey' to 'Rangelands Management' in the 1980s, classifying the rabbit work as 'agricultural' rather than 'biodiversity' science, in today's terms. Ferality, it seems, is now about biodiversity nuisance, not primary industry problems.

#### Categories of nuisance

Given this large list of species that have, at one stage, been considered 'feral', what conclusions can we draw as to the meaning and use of 'feral' in the natural sciences and humanities literatures from this study? There are three main categories of species that have been considered feral:

Populations of species that have been domesticated at some stage in the past and have since become de-domesticated. Darwin's original definition (Darwin 1872) still holds true for many applications of the term in all journals surveyed. It is certainly the dominant use of the term in current literature.

# Those species, populations or individuals that are feral because they are in the wrong place, but have never been domesticated.

Movement to this new place could be natural invasion, or, more commonly through human-mediated movement. This applies to many of lesser-mentioned species, particularly the fish and invertebrate species, in both Table 1 and Table 2.

# Those species, populations or individuals which are feral because of their behaviour.

This is a rather small category but it is conceptually interesting. The fact that it is so small suggests changing use of the word 'feral' itself. Unlike the words 'nuisance' and 'pest', used historically for creatures whose behaviour was a problem for agriculture, feral is often a more generalized pejorative. It is morally laden and lays the blame with the feral species itself. When feral is used to describe behaviour, it usually applies to a specific population (often monkeys) or individuals (a rogue polar bear in Churchill, Manitoba) who are behaving unnaturally or causing risk for humans. In the case of the feral polar bear, it was in its natural habitat, but its behaviour had altered in response to the presence of humans and towns (Leatherland and Ronald 1981). These bears are typically found 'in the dump, in town, damaging property, and/or threatening life' and are now more correctly identified as 'problem' bears (Towns et al. 2009).

The question of changing behaviour in the presence of humans is most striking in the case of the feral cat. Bryant described the ferality of a cat as the degree of contact and control a given cat will readily accept from humans: 'cats exhibit temperaments that range from completely docile and trusting to totally humanavoidant' (Bryant 2013: 125). There are some who write of 'semi-feral' cats (for example, Baker et al. 2010) But the feral spectrum does not include indoor cats, which behave at the docile end of the spectrum when they are with their human families, but at the opposite end of the spectrum when in frightening or novel situations such as animal shelters or veterinary clinics. Outdoor cats are equally difficult to categorize. Free-roaming human-appreciating cats, who may spend chunks of time indoors with human families, may look the same as free-roaming completely human-avoidant cats. Moreover, completely tame cats can 'go feral', and the offspring of completely feral cats can be tamed if they receive socialization by humans before they reach the age of 3 months. Thus, the categories of feral and non-feral cats are fairly fluid, except that in the popular imagination, the first is a 'bad' cat and the latter is a 'good' one. That fluidity also confers more protection to cats than if the categories of feral and non-feral cats were distinct, with feral cats being treated as wild animals such as raccoons and squirrels, easily characterized as 'pests' (Bryant 2013). An unconscious preference for the domesticated sets the framework for judging all animals, and this prejudice colours management approaches to feral animals.

In general, the use of feral as a descriptor is on the rise. While this meaning of the term feral has been applied to a range of animals from all major groups, it has also been applied to a range of less tradition categories as well. For instance, Schnitzler *et al.* (2011) considered some landscapes in France 'feral' or 'de-domesticated' as they were once cultivated and then abandoned. Importantly, the authors argue that these feral landscapes could never return to a 'pristine' or 'wild' state because succession processes will follow a different path than truly wild areas due to the new environmental factors and novel species assemblages in the new place (Schnitzler *et al.* 2011).

#### **Conclusions: Feral Futures**

The use of the word 'feral' often reveals more about the human management of the environment than about the animal itself. Being feral is about being beyond human control. As one Australian coastal manager put it: 'We do not manage the environment, only the human behaviours that affect its structure and processes' (Kenchington 1994).

This study found broad consistency between the natural sciences and humanities disciplines in their meaning of the term *feral*, and the species or concepts to which it was applied, despite the very different approaches,

purposes and perceptions of nature that the journals represented. The natural sciences tended to group animals as a group, population or species on an ecosystem scale, while the humanities typically treated animals or plants as individuals. This affected the ethics of humananimal relations, but not the moral import and stigma of ferality. Mentions of 'feral' were proportionally an order of magnitude more common amongst animal studies scholars, predominantly concerned about the ethics of human relationships with individuals of a species.

The title for this final section is borrowed from Tim Low, whose book Feral Future (1999) grapples with the question of managing exotic environmental weeds in Australia from an ecological perspective. Coining a neologism, he feared the 'Homogocene', where 'the richness of planetary life will give way...to a simplified series of homogenous ecosystems' (Low 1999: 237), apparently unconscious that the entomologist Michael Samways defined a similar term "Homogenocene" about the same time (Kolbert 2014: 107). One of us (LR) was part of a team writing an interdisciplinary paper on the cultural construction of Acacia, including A. pycnantha (Golden wattle), an invasive environmental weed in South Africa, and the national floral emblem of Australia (Carruthers et al. 2011). We had described 'biodiversity' as a cultural concept in our paper and shown how its uses had changed historically. In correspondence, Low denied that this was possible, arguing that 'biodiversity' was easily measured and therefore entirely objective, and timeless. This position, that biodiversity is a 'measurable, scientific' concept, and therefore could never also be cultural, is something that the idea of nature in the Anthropocene turns on its head.

Ferality is an important concept for the future, indeed if Low's Homogecene comes about, there will be fewer species, but all of them more out of control. The crucial value of a study like this is to unpack some of the cultural baggage it carries alongside it. The notion of ferality co-defines our understanding of threatened species, invasive species, conservation and even, perhaps, the new nature of the Anthropocene. Yet it is only recently was there a separation of *feral* from *wild*, with the latter being morally superior. This distinction is not useful, unless

the feral animals are not legitimately part of the natural ecosystems which they inhabit or frustrating attempts to conserve other species or to recreate a landscape (Shelton 2004; Bhattacharyya *et al.* 2011).

The rise in use of the term *feral* has been accompanied by a rise in expertise in invasion biology, and has a close alliance with the particular late twentieth-century environmental activism around biodiversity, rather than agriculture. It reflects a break from the earlier history of feral meaning simply 'undomesticated', which was the language of managing nature for agricultural and pastoral economies more typical of the first six decades of the century.

This study suggests that future publications need to be clear about the definition and application of the term *feral* to ensure consistency across disciplines, and are as explicit as possible about its natural and social context. The negative moral overtones attached to feral behaviour in popular understanding suggest that feral would be better not used in technical literature in future for rogue individuals, especially when they are members of a vulnerable species like polar bears.

Is *feral* a valid or useful term? Perhaps, amidst growing awareness of the idea of 'novel ecosystems' (e.g. Hobbs *et al.* 2006; Marris 2011) and the Anthropocene, it would seem redundant. Everything in novel ecosystems is, by definition, equally out of place. Whether or not a species was previously domesticated is of historical interest only, and perhaps not useful in informing of management decisions. Preserving the concept of ferality implies that it is realistic to fix targets for preserving historic ecosystems at some historical moment. If however, the point is to manage existing and newly emerged ecosystems for their own sake, we may see a decline in the use of the pejorative *feral*.

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